476

[Information on co-operative farming and ranching units has been filed under Category 474.]

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

painter drew the outlines of the figures in black or dark brown while the lodge was standing. Then the cover was spread out on the ground and less skilled artists assisted the painter in filling in the outlines with colors designated by the owner. A buffalo tail or handful of buffalo hair was used to apply the color to the larger areas, and the paint, mixed with hot water, was rubbed onto the cover with considerable pressure.

Usually a single pair of the larger mammals, such as buffalo, deer, or elk, representing the mythical giver and his mate, appeared on a cover. If the subjects were smaller mammals, such as beaver or otter, several pairs were represented. A device symbolizing the home of the creature usually was painted on the back of the cover. The animal or bird figures faced the doorway, one or more on each side of the lodge. Usually the bodies of the figures were of one solid color—black, red, or yellow. On many of these animals the throat, heart, and kidneys were painted in contrasting colors. It was important to show them because they were regarded as the sources of the creature's power.

Most painted lodges also had two areas of geometric design. A banded area at the bottom, usually in red, represented the earth, while unpainted discs within this field symbolized fallen stars. The second area, at the top, was painted black, representing the night sky. Unpainted discs within this area indicated the constellations of the Great Bear and the Pleiades. Near the top and at the back of the cover a Maltese cross representing the morning star or butterfly was painted. It was thought to bring powerful dreams to the tipi owner.

Only a small proportion of the Blackfoot lodge covers bore these colorful, decorative paintings. However, the making of the cover itself was no mean achievement. From six to twenty buffalo cow hides were needed, the number depending upon the relative wealth of the lodge owner and the size of his family. An elderly woman experienced in cutting and piecing together hides laid them out on the ground and told her assistants where to cut and sew them together with sinew thread. At the end of this sewing bee the lodge owner feasted the women who took part in this work.

11: Goldfrank E-4,5 (1939) 1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

sister and never did what he wanted. Many a son leaves his father's house to live with a married sister because he "can't get along with his brothers."[599]

The age-grade is an important mechanism for solidarity, but alternate grades of the men's societies call each other "fighters." Their actions fulfill expectancy. One man, accused of beating his wife excessively, said in extenuation that he couldn't stand the taunts of his "fighters" who continually reminded him of her pre-marital promiscuity. The conflicts and insult techniques that rule between "fighters" are projected upon the family. Quarrels between young children are explained on this basis. A young boy of nine was tussling more or less playfully with his sister's son aged six. The father of the elder boy, who at the same time was the grandfather of the younger, said, "They just can't get along together. They are fighters." Brothers, merely because of age difference, frequently find themselves in opposite camps.

This institutionalization of hostility, however, only reinforces behavior patterns implicit in the basic structure of the society.[599] Rivalrous attitudes, rooted in the conflicting interests and individualistic goals that dominate the society as a whole, are freely expressed in childhood. They are strengthened by early training. They are nourished in adulthood by differences over property, whether in women, animals, or land. Some brothers have not spoken to each other for more than a decade. Mutual assaults are frequent and fraternal murder is not unknown. Familial attachment created no problem in loyalties for Yellow Wolf when he assisted in the police hunt for his notorious brother, Charcoal.

But when economic advantage demands cooperation, hostility may be repressed, if only temporarily. This same Charcoal, after a serious break with Yellow Wolf, joined his haying camp and accepted his leadership again. The White Plume brothers who beat each other up in the early part of the week camped together a few days later and brought in the wheat.

Childhood rivalries between sisters are more apt to be dissipated in later life. In the buffalo period, many an early antagonism was forgotten because the advantage of being a second wife in a sister's household overcame the disadvantage of continued proximity. In the monogamous present, distance mitigates if it does not completely resolve the friction: after marriage, a woman still generally goes to her husband's house.

Other aspects of housing also affect family relationships. In the past, no

[599] From an anthropological viewpoint, see Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture*, p. 236; also Ralph Linton, *The Effects of Culture on Mental and Emotional Processes*, pp. 294, 295; also Bronislaw Malinowski, *Culture as a Determinant of Behavior*, particularly pp. 133–139. From a psychoanalytical viewpoint, see Erich Fromm, *Escape From Freedom*, pp. 277–291; also Karen Horney, *The Neurotic Personality of our Time*, p. 188 ff.; also Abram Kardiner, *The Individual and his Society*, p. 55.

592 474 for purposes of sharing meager incomes.

Ranching is a productive and at least marginally profitable current pursuit on the reservation. In 1966, only three of the 1921 Heart Butte District cooperative ranching units were still viable. These are units one, five and fifteen. See Diagram VI for a schematic ordering of these units. The head of the conjugal pair in the descending generation in unit Number 1 now ranches on his deceased father-in-law's land (land inherited by the female spouse) in cooperation with his son-in-law. These extant units are diagrammed as follows, along with an additional separate single family unit.

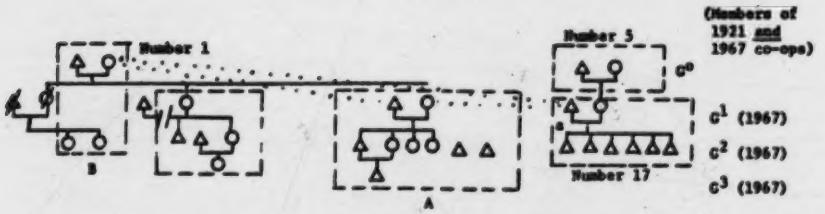
Units 5 and 1, like the 1921 units discussed and diagrammed above, are cooperative in nature, but mutual assistance relationships do not tie all the current households together in direct lines. The relationships which obtain between units 5 and 1 require detailed analysis to show how the persons are tied together economically, how the units manage resources, and the forms of assistance that are necessary for profitable use of resources.

423 592 474 198 128 Land tenure divides the units into three separate enterprises. All families in Number 1 live on land owned by the female in the G^0 generation, though leased acreage also is used in the ranching operation. Numbers 5 and 17, too, own and lease land. Using land, then, as the criterion for unit boundaries, there are three distinct units. But if, as is done for the 1921 co-ops, mutual assistance is the criterion, then there are two distinct units (1 and 5) and an intermediary household (17) which cooperates with the other two. There is no direct

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 70]

Diagram VI

COOPERATIVE RANCHING UNITS, HEART BUTTE DISTRICT,
1921 AND 1966



a = son-in-law to male in Number 5. Stands in intermediary relationship between Number 5, Number 1, and Household A.

A = Extended family household headed by son-in-law to Male in ascending generation in Number 1.

B = Extended family household headed by divorced daughter of male in ascending generation of Number 1.

..... = Indicates mutual assistance with land, livestock and labor.

_ _ _ = Indicates boundaries of households.

mutual assistance between 1 and 5.

Land owned by Number 17 is contiguous with land owned by Number 1. Number 17 provides equipment and labor for Number 1 and receives a portion of the hay crop in return for his services. The same assistance is given to Number 5, and 5, in turn, gives a portion of his crops to Number 17.

The conjugal pairs in the G^0 generation who head units 1 and 5 are conjugal pairs in the first descending generation in the same units in the 1921 sample. The extended family household, indicated by the letter A and headed by a male in the G^1 generation, provides more than half of the labor for unit Number 1. Extended family "B", headed by a divorced female in generation G^1 is only casually involved in the ranch operation. She owns a few cattle and her former spouse assisted with labor.

The income from these three enterprises is not substantial, quantity of land and livestock are not sufficient to maintain individual families. The male in G^0 (unit Number 1) could not sustain himself without help from his son-in-law and male "a." The two males with large families both drive school buses in the winter months to supplement their income and the female spouse of the head of extended family A works part-time to bring in additional needed income. Furthermore, the dependent nuclear family in extended family household A set up a separate household on the paternal grandmother's land while I was in Heart Butte in 1967. The young male now works in Browning full-time. The female head in extended family household B receives ADC, and her

592 434 128 $1800) show the low income positions for these family types compared with others in the diagram. An explanation of the eighteen exceptions in Table 23 will lend additional support to my principal hypothesis.

Eight of the low income families are female-headed. Five of these are grandparent-grandchild households headed by four elderly (657) widows and one elderly divorcee. In all of these cases the elder females support their dependent grandchildren on ADC payments or meager (464) pensions. In only one case does the elder head partially depend upon the earnings of a resident grandchild (a female whose adult grandson earns about $500 per annum firefighting). However, all of these households receive some aid from kinsmen who reside near them in Browning. 592 434 476 602 In only one instance is financial aid substantial; among the remainder assistance takes the form of baby-sitting, house-keeping, transportation and occasional food. Frequently some aid is given in return--baby-sitting, food, and house-keeping. Mutual emotional support is frequent in all cases. Most of the elderly household heads seem to manage on their ADC or other meager sources of income, although their financial circumstances at times are exceedingly precarious.

The remaining three female-headed households shed a somewhat different light on the low income, independent nuclear families. These three households are headed by young females (all are 27 years of age) with two or three offspring. All are divorcees. Two of them lived with closely related families in the past but had finally managed to pull together enough ADC income to reside alone with their children. All three receive substantial economic and labor assistance from their consanguines.

592 youngsters' parents in the flood of 1964. The elderly couple inhabits
591 a flood house in Moccasin Flat, the poorer section of Browning. The
602 grandchildren occasionally stay with their uncles or aunts in the rural districts when school is not in session. There are no available kinsmen who can manage the care of eight additional children in their households year around since all are now raising sizable families of
592 their own. The grandparent-grandchild household, although overcrowded
603 and seriously underfunded, is an exceptionally happy one. The children
511 deeply love their grandparents and are unfailingly eager to assist with household tasks, including care of younger siblings.

592 Near this low-income grandparent-grandchild household is a low-
511 income nuclear family. The female spouse of the household head is a
602 niece of the female and male in the Grandparent-grandchild household.
[423] The dwelling is owned and rented by the elders. Assistance from the
[425] elders is meager, except for the provision of a dwelling at minimal cost. The young family has two other kinsmen available in Browning who
592 could assist them--a married brother and married sister of the female--
511 but these, too, are involved in raising sizable families. They have
602 above average incomes, are climbing out of the poverty their parents
● 416 knew, and are disinclined to offer money assistance to other related families.

Two other cases, both large households, cope as best they can with their meager resources. There is substantial assistance between the two; one is headed by the father of the male household head in the other. Transportation, child care, and occasional pooling of cash

occur between the two households. No other kin are immediately available to offer aid to either of the cases.

The thirteenth exception consists of a nuclear family household whose head is in his fifties and who, along with his spouse, cares for a brother (of the male head) and four offspring. The only kinsmen available to this family who can give assistance is a son whose small nuclear family inhabits a BIA trailer in the government compound in Browning. The son, his wife and infant are struggling on a $4,000 per annum income, yet they assist the male's parents with cash whenever possible.

At this point I have discussed thirteen cases which are exceptions to the hypothesis. The fourteenth, another independent nuclear family household, is headed by a 55-year-old male who earns $3,700 per annum, a sum very close to the cut-off point used in Table 23. Next door to this sizable household (eight persons in all) reside a married daughter, her husband and one offspring. Mutual aid is frequent between the households. Male and female in the younger family are fully employed. They are occasionally able to assist the elders with some cash, but generally labor and transportation are given mutually. These households, in their economic dealings with each other, are similar in operation to the household clusters described and analyzed by Robbins (1968a, 1968b), as is the low-income grandparent-grandchild household which provides a dwelling for a married niece, which may also be properly placed in this category. These cases suggest that kinship neighborhoods may be fairly common in Browning. My sample certainly suggests this

602 possibility, as the cases discussed below strongly indicate. I know no
591 household head or his spouse who does not have some closely related kin
592 in or near Browning.

592 Another case further illustrates mutual kin and economic ties.
602 This consists of a male, age 39, who heads a large independent nuclear
456 family. While his income is low--but $2,700 in 1967--he was at the time
[434] engaged in ranching, an undertaking that permitted some economic amenities such as meat for the family larder which is not reflected in cash
[625] income. Presently the man and his family reside in Browning where the
[464] man is employed as a policeman for the Tribe; he and his family live near the man's mother. The mother is the head of a grandparent-grandchild household (only one grandchild). Food, transportation services, and household work are mutual between these households. The male, however, is now able to assist his mother more frequently than in the past.
[128] This is the fifteenth exception to my hypothesis.

[434] One of the remaining three cases is a conjugal pair whose household income is $2,700, which yields a well above average per capita figure. Of the final two cases, one consists of a small nuclear family which receives considerable aid from the female spouse's mother--labor, some cash, and occasionally quarters (in summer). The other resides in Browning within two blocks of the low-income household in which her daughter resides.

592 The eighteenth and final case is a middle-age couple hosting ten
511 offspring and one grandchild. The household income is a meager $3,300 per annum. The hardships facing this family from week to week are

terribly unpleasant. The only kinsmen in Browning this family has is a married brother to the male head. The brother, however, struggles to make a living on a small income; he and his spouse (no other dependents) occupy a small ramshackle dwelling in Moccasin Flat. The eleven-person, low-income family calls upon anyone it possibly can for small loans or food; at times they seek aid from a prominent rancher and friend who lives at Little Badger Creek in the Heart Butte district. It would be most difficult for this family to move in with a host family even if someone were available to offer such aid--the household population could, I believe, prove far too inconvenient for both host and guest families.

I have now explained the eighteen cases which are exceptions to the hypothesis. I add that the nineteen cases in the upper left quadrant in Table 23 maintain their independence to a far greater degree than the eighteen exceptions, although some of them provide some aid to kin and friends. Before taking up the subject of the Browning family cycle a few additional comments are in order.

In my previous analyses (Robbins 1968a, 1968b, 1970) I advanced and confirmed the hypothesis that where family income is low and unstable related families are likely to pool resources by joining under a single roof. But I also pointed out that household clusters (two or more residences located on the land of an elder kinsman where mutual economic assistance is intense) form to accomplish essentially the ends as are found in multiple-family households. I also discovered that in 1970 two clusters of unrelated persons occurred in Heart Butte. These

592 consisted of destitute guest families that had been permitted to reside
476 in otherwise vacant dwellings owned by a close friend at no cost. The host families also provided land. The two clusters, consisting of two
592 households each, do not involve intense mutual aid on a scale witnessed
476 among related families, but the formation of such clusters demonstrates
602 that close relationship is not always the major consideration in deciding whether low and unstable families will offer or receive aid from one another. However, I knew of no households in which unrelated families had joined together for mutual or unilateral aid.

592 I also discovered in Browning and in the rural regions that fami-
602 lies with relatively high incomes are reluctant to host their poorer
511 close kin. I was told by several household heads and their spouses that
476 they had worked hard for what they had and felt that they would definitely jeopardize themselves by "giving too much." Generally the younger, higher earners avoid hosting families; as my data have shown for all current samples, only two multiple-families and two household clusters were recorded in which one generation or host family contributed all or nearly all of the income (or a dwelling) in the units. It is mutual need that usually draws families together. This generalization also applies to the Browning "neighborhood kin units" where mutual aid often reaches a level similar to that found among the rural household clusters.

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study has further tested and confirmed my three basic hypotheses: (1) the low and unstable income (or other resources) causes related families to join under a single roof, if kin are available to form such households, or (2) that low and unstable family income (or other resources) also causes related families to live adjacent to one another on land owned by an elder kinsman to form intensive cooperative units and to defray rental expenses; (3) scarce economic resources in the past (1921) brought about intensive cooperation among related and unrelated families which continues today.

The data presented in this and my earlier Blackfeet studies demonstrate a low, marginal position of the Blackfeet in the American society and economy. This position, described as neo-colonial and labeled underclass, has been empirically established. Stability and amount of income were poor in 1966 and remained so in 1970 when I conducted my follow-up study.

In the rural districts (Heart Butte and adjacent regions) families that form multiple-family households and land clusters are engaged in intensive mutual economic assistance. In 1966, 59 per cent of all families studied in this area were so occupied; in 1970, 55 per cent were so involved, a statistically insignificant reduction. Family

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

According to this practice the two must co-operate, though authority is vested in the elder, especially if he is the wife's brother.[1] In case of dissatisfaction the younger is free to move to another more generous person.

As adjacent land becomes available, the younger may apply to the agent for these fields in order that he himself, having learned the techniques of farming, may become self-sufficient. The location of houses in small clusters of three and four at mile intervals along many of the reserve roads provides opportunity for groups of relatives and in-laws to live adjacently. Having been granted occupancy of a neighbouring house, the junior family may move there. Obligation of mutual help continues, though there is greater independence than formerly. Mutual help on the fields of one's relatives may be expected, and there will be exchanges of gifts, though no actual division of income.

Expanding such groups still further are the older people who frequently come to live in the same house with or in a house near to their children. Kinship obligations require caring for the indigent, as we have noted previously.[2] The practice of "bringing up" children of relatives adds further potential members to the original family. This practice is distinct from adoptions where the foster parents conceal the fact of adoption from the child. In "bringing up" a child, a middle-aged man and his wife merely take a grandchild to live with them. Having brought up a family themselves and having a "vacant" house with the unmarried children away in boarding-school, many people feel lonely and ask their relatives for children. These children then live with and are supported by their grandparents, though they frequently spend several days or weeks with their own parents also. Both "bringing up" a child and adoption occur with considerable frequency.

Thus the individual family is variously expanded on the reserve today by the addition of siblings, certain in-laws, the aged, and children. Numerous clusters of houses show such patterns of relationships. In one of a group of four houses lives an old widow with her grandchildren whom she is "bringing up" for her son-in-law. Next to her lives her sister's son and his family; by Blackfoot reckoning this man is her "son." Across the road, a stone's throw away, live her true son and his children, one of whom is married

[1] Cf. p. 72.
[2] Cf. p. 86.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Northern Blackfoot
Blackfoot Reserve

361 and resides there with his wife. The occupant of the fourth house
602 is called "younger sibling" by the old lady because he was raised by a co-wife of the old lady's mother. Such clusters of relatives are frequent throughout the reserve.

602 In these groups considerable mutual help exists. At harvest all
●416 able-bodied males and females may turn out. One person often obtains the weekly rations for the entire group of households, and on trips to town members of any household may ride in the wagon. As in the individual household the eldest male or female is the final authority in matters of common concern, though usually a senior woman returns the decision after its having been submitted to her,
602 by saying to the eldest male, "It's up to you." When one of the
431 extended family receives a good return from his crop of beef cattle, he is expected to share it with his relatives as gifts and food. Many visitors come on such occasions and should be given meat, blankets, money, or horses. Although in proportion to the individual's total income the amount of these gifts is smaller today than formerly, the importance of these obligations continues.

221 It should be borne in mind that there is comparatively little
596 group stability, for change of residence is frequent. Many households have two residences, one for summer and another for winter.
[362] The summer residences, built at trust fund expense, were intended originally to be permanent, but the lack of insulation makes them unsatisfactory at low temperatures with high winds. Many have built cabins in the valley of the Bow River where shelter and access to water are more adequate. In this case the summer grouping of relatives may differ from the winter grouping, though both groupings are usually based on kinship. A young married couple lived with the husband's brother-in-law on the farm during the summer but with the husband's parents on the river bank during the winter.

221 Besides this seasonal change of residence, the character of em-
464 ployment may justify additional migration. In the winter many households are attracted to the mines. In spring and summer, work on the farms and later haying, not to mention the Sun Dance and the Tobacco Dance, may mean that some households reside not
361 more than a few weeks in one place. Even then, however, kinship
602 serves as the bond for determining where one shall camp. A man may live in his older brother's house during seeding, camp next to

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

days they lived in their tipis all year long, and the thick hides kept them much warmer than our thin canvas would. Imagine being in a tipi in January, at forty below zero, with a blizzard blowing deadly cold through every pore and opening in your only shelter.

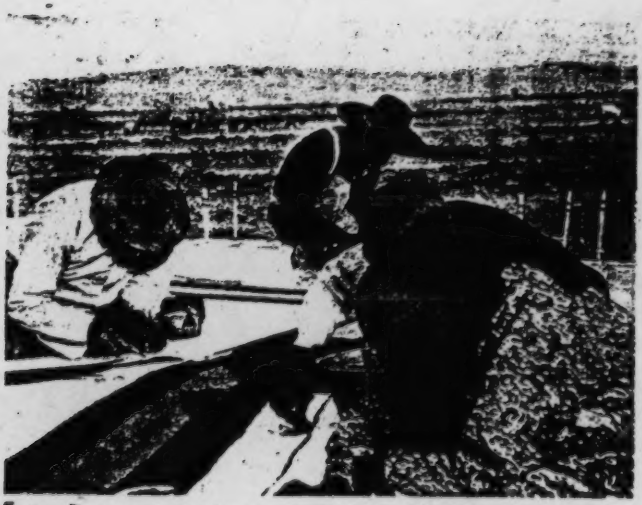
In the buffalo days of my grandmothers several of them got together and helped each other with their tipi-making. When one woman had all the necessary hides tanned and sinews prepared, she invited her friends and relatives for the work. She made a big meal and provided tobacco for smoke breaks. Sometimes she got an old lady to pray first and paint the faces of the workers, to ensure a well-made new home. Most families got a new tipi cover every year, along with a new set of tipi poles from the pine hills or the forests near the mountains.

Some buffalo-hide tipis were quite small, and some were quite large. Among my father's ancestors there was a famous chief whose tipi was so big that it was packed up in two sections. When they put it up they had to pin together both front and back, instead of just the front. He had a number of wives and many children, so there were plenty of workers to make such a big lodge and to put it up. His name, by the way, was Father-of-Many-Children. The band to which my family belongs is called the Many Children.

You might imagine how eager I was to try out my first tipi after it was completed. But since we were going to have a painted tipi design transferred to us, we had to paint that design on the tipi first. The new owners of a design can hire someone to paint it for them, or they can do it themselves, unless they are going to get the old cover with the design already on it. Usually the former owners have about worn it out, so they take it to a lake and sink it with stones, as required by tradition.

The design we were given by my grandmother is called the Yellow Otter Painted Lodge. The last time it had been used

41: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1944) 1945 NF6 Blackfoot NF6



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[P 25-C]

39. Painting the cover of the eagle lodge, about 1910.

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21. Eagle painted lodge in 1943.

need be. The outlining of the forms was the only part of lodge painting that required the services of the most able artist obtainable. 532

The new lodge cover was then taken down and spread out flat on the ground. The owner invited a group of people of good reputation for honesty and industry to his lodge and gave them a smoke. They proceeded to help him finish the painting. They used a buffalo tail or a handful of long buffalo hair to apply the paint to the larger masses. The paint was mixed with hot water only, and rubbed onto the cover with considerable pressure. When the painting was finished and the new lodge erected, all the ornaments that hung on the old lodge were transferred to the new one by its owner. Then he invited the owners of other painted lodges in the camp to join him inside his new lodge. There they prayed for the lodge, and finally helped the owner to make a purification sweatlodge outside. The cere- [574] [476] [237] [574] [782] [343]

(P. 26-A)